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WRL NEWS

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NED RICHARDS –CO IN BOTH WARS–DEAD

Ned (Edward C.M.) Richards, an objector in both world wars and a founder and past chairman of WRL, died August 7 at the age of 88 in Tucson, Ariz. Word of his death came from his daughter, Elizabeth. Those who attended WRL's 50th anniversary conference in California last summer will recall that it was she who took care of him and his wheelchair. "His great joy was attending the WRL conference and seeing such a vital, active group," she wrote. At the opening session, Igal Roodenko called upon World War I COs in attendance to rise. Ned Richards and Evan Thomas were the only ones. (Evan died May 18 at the age of 83).

Deeply committed to Christian pacifism, Ned, in World War I, volunteered with the Near East Relief Committee in one of the most dangerous parts of the world at the time—East Persia. He helped the sick and homeless, combatted catastrophic epidemics, buried the dead, helped break a famine and organized a textile factory for civilians.

Ned was a forestry consultant who wrote many articles on the subject for professional publications. In 1933 he was named chief forester of the Tennessee Valley Authority. In this post, he focused his efforts on soil erosion control, reforestation, cultivation of a variety of tree crops and promoting recreational use of the vast areas surrounding the lakes created by the big power dams.

In World War II, Ned, like Evan, refused to register under a law which required registration of men between the ages of 45 and 65. The 14 older men who took that position were placed briefly in custody and registered by the authorities. During the

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THE TIGER CAGE ATOP THE CAPITOL STEPS

by Jerry Elmer

Photo by Karl Bissinger

The Tiger Cage Vigil and Fast this summer in Washington emerged from our experiences in New England during the past year working with a full-size, very realistic replica of a South Vietnamese "tiger cage" prison cell. We had found that at a time when most

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NED RICHARDS *(continued from page 1)*
war he wrote two significant pamphlets: "Federal Convicts–College to Prison", based on the cases of two nonregistrants including his son, Fred and "They Refuse to be Criminals", based on the case of his other son, Bill, who refused to accept the restrictions of parole and goodtime. Bill, now a doctor in Canada, has been a substantial contributor to WRL for many years. Being women, Elizabeth and her sister, Annette, were not involved with the draft. But, like the rest of the family, they are anti-war activists. In addition to the two sons and two daughters, Ned's wife, Elizabeth survives him.

A memorial service was held September 15 at Pima Friends Meeting in Tucson. His family requested that in place of flowers, appropriate memorial gifts be made to WRL.

NEW LITERATURE

THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF ITT by Anthony Sampson. As absorbing reading as a quality whodunnit, is this complete biography of ITT–a corporation constituting a flagrant example of the multinationals which, today dominate The System. As Sampson sums it up: "ITT still regards itself as above governments, above controls and above morals."..... 335 pp, $1.75

THE BUDDHISTS IN VIETNAM, An Alternative View of the War by Bo Wirmark. This WRI pamphlet is edited by Joseph Gerson with an introduction by Daniel Berrigan..... 40 pp, $1.15

KIND & UNUSUAL PUNISHMENT by Jessica Mitford. Finally out in paperback, is this vivid expose of the American prison system..... 340 pp, $1.95

WRL STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The War Resisters League affirms that war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of all the causes of war.

☐ I support this statement and wish to enroll as a member of the WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE.

signature

address

city

state zip code

Send to War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

THE TIGER CAGE ATOP THE CAPITOL STEPS *(continued from page 1)*
Americans want to believe that, somehow, the war in Indochina has ended–or that, somehow, United States involvement there has ceased–the tiger cage replicas served as a singularly effective reminder.

The Tiger Cage Vigil and Fast began on June 24 and continued till August 24. Each week a group of approximately 20 persons came to Washington from a particular region of the country; from New England, from the midwest, from the South, etc.

During their week in Washington, project participants, from 10 to 4 each day, alternated between sitting inside the tiger cage atop the Capitol steps, vigiling a few steps down and leafletting. Normally, two persons would sit inside the cage at a time, shackled to an iron bar with hand shackles and heavy iron leg manacles. One person, standing beside the cage, would give short talks explaining what the tiger cage is and what it represents. Each day, each week, we spoke with literally tens of thousands of tourists, not only from all across the country but from all over the world. Foreign tourists were more aware of what our country is doing in Indochina than American tourists and frequently made comments such as, "We're so glad to see that not all Americans support the war."

A complimentary focus of the summer-long project was Congressional visitation. During the course of the summer, we saw a number of major anti-war bills in Congress pass or fail by very few votes. It is certainly frustrating to see such measures fail by only two or three votes, but it points up the importance of people applying pressure to members of Congress about this issue at this time. During the course of the summer, project participants met with literally hundreds of Senators and Representatives to discuss upcoming Indochina-related legislation. The visitors had been well briefed with detailed facts and statistics. Many Senators and Representatives were visited two, three, or more times during the course of the summer. This, combined with other types of media coverage on Capitol Hill, meant that the Tiger Cage Vigil and Fast had significant impact–both in terms of quantity and quality–on members of Congress.

One major aspect of the project was fasting. Most project participants fasted for 3 to 6 days while they were in Washington. For many, this was their first experience with the extremely powerful nonviolent technique of fasting. Most of us felt that the fasting added a tone of seriousness and urgency to the project that might otherwise have been lacking. It impressed many tourists who might otherwise have written us off as some sort of kook demonstrators. Also, it had a very moving effect on many Senators and Representatives who were visited. For those of us who fasted, our hunger was a constant reminder of why we were in Washington. One of the project coordinators, Carol Bragg, fasted during the entire project, taking nothing but water and small amounts of juice for 62 days. Her fast was an inspiration to all who participated in the project, and received coverage from the *Washington Post, UPI,* and *Reuters*. Carol (who was not a heavy woman to begin with) lost 40 pounds during her nine-week fast.

During the last week of the project two people–Carol Bragg, and Mitch Snyder, of the Community for Creative Nonviolence–spent five days and nights shackled into the tiger cage. This last week of the project was far more rigorous than previous weeks, both for the two who were shackled into the cage the entire time, and for the rest of us who had to maintain a 24-hour-per-day presence at the Capitol. In addition, it had a far more spiritual tone to it than the project as a whole, with daily liturgies on the Capitol steps, the singing of hymns and the reading of Scripture. At the last minute, Capitol authorities decided that it would be illegal for people to sleep in the tiger cage at all, so Mitch and Carol were forced to stay awake literally for five consecutive days and nights. Capitol police were stationed at the cage, 24 hours per day, threatening those in the tiger cage with immediate arrest if they so much as closed their eyes. We were particularly concerned about the effects of extended sleep deprivation on Carol, who was by then in the ninth week of her fast; however, both Carol and Mitch made it through the week in superb form.

To me, one of the most encouraging aspects of the project as a whole is the manner in which different Movement groups associated with the United Campaign to End the War were able to work together in a productive, constructive manner. This project was developed and staffed by the American Friends Service Committee; both the War Resisters League and the Fellowship of Reconciliation helped to fund it and did major mailings recruiting participants for the project. Other groups such as the Indochina Peace Campaign and the International Committee also helped fund it; we received office space free from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; we obtained resource people and materials from the Indochina Mobile Educational Project, the Indochina Resource Center and the Coalition to Stop Funding the War. Working together, we maintained an extremely moving and powerful presence in the nation's capitol–a presence focusing on the continuing crimes in Indochina during a summer when the nation and the capitol were preoccupied with burglaries, political espionage, impeachment, and finally, Nixon's resignation.

THE NATIONAL WRL CONFERENCE

A STAFF REPORT

Photos by Grace Hedemann

Cantankerous. Boring. Angry. Long winded. Disputatious. Oh yes, also joy, love, midnight beer, singing, sunlight and rainstorms. But Labor Day Weekend you could have had the beer and the rainstorms anywhere along the East Coast–only at Lake Winnipesaukee, in the rural wilds of New Hampshire, could you have found such creative conflict.

Pacifists may love everybody, but, particularly in the sessions of the National Committee which immediately followed the National Conference, there were tears of frustration, fury over real or alleged errors by the national leadership, and passionate concern over how to build the program of the League. At a time when the peace movement has been listed in the obituary column by most journalists, over 300 WRL members turned up for the largest national conference in WRL history–with the exception of the 50th anniversary conference last year which drew about 550.

League members came from 26 states, the large, distant cities–Lambertville, Catawissa, Carrollton, Walleston, Wantagh, Woburn. It was a conference that marked a transition. The 50th Anniversary period saw, perhaps inevitably, the death of most of the founding leadership, men and women who were specially honored the opening night in statements by Jim Peck and Ann Davidon. But their deaths came, as they would have chosen, in the midst of considerable vigor for the organization they helped found. Veterans of the movement were present–Julius Eichel, David Berkingoff, and others. But most of those at the conference were younger by decades.

Dave Dellinger opened the conference with a forceful attack on the established economic and political structure, locating the causes of war and violence in the institutionalized violence and oppression of this structure. Ron Young, Laura Hassler and Nguyen Thi Thanh led the panel on Indochina (Ron having just returned from South Vietnamese territory controlled by the PRG), and Beverly Woodward, David McReynolds and George Lakey made the panel presentation on Militarism and Disarmament. Domestic Crises and Alternatives was discussed by Pam Haines, William Douthard, and Henry Bass, while Brad Lyttle, Richard Post and Dave Dellinger tackled Imperialism and Pacifism, exploring how nonviolence could relate to liberation movements, deal with interlocking international corporations, etc. The panel discussion on the Middle East was provocative, with Peretz Kidron, an Israeli on tour in the United States, sharing panel time with Allan Solomonow and Paula Rayman. WRL's concern with prisons was expressed in a panel that included DeCourcy Squire, Dave Brown and Randy Kehler.

There were more workshops than can be listed without turning this report into the Book of Numbers, but let it be noted that the workshops were serious ones that in some cases ran as late as 1:30 a.m. when most of the conference had given up and gone to bed.

From the staff's point of view, the conflict of views at the conference is a source of optimism. For us it meant the membership took the conference very seriously, that they had not traveled hundreds or thousands of miles to have any movement "heavies" lay down the correct line. People wanted a hand in

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THE NATIONAL WRL CONFERENCE *(continued from page 3)*
developing the program–and in building the organization. The WRL Conference does not have the responsibility of setting program for the League–that rests with the National Committee–but it is a sounding board which makes it possible to transmit views and information within the League, on a direct, face-to-face basis. The meetings of the National Committee, which come immediately after the Conference, are heavily influenced by the sense of the meeting the Conference has on various issues.

The NC decisions lay out a clear series of priority questions the League will pursue during the year. Organizationally an extremely ambitious and important plan was adopted under which the number of regions would be increased from four to–hopefully–twelve, with a regional office to be located eventually in each region, organized around a regional committee. The funding for this work will be a major problem, since as much as $75,000 would be needed–over and above the current very tight (deficit) budget. Thus, whether the plan can be put into action depends in large part on how effectively the regions are able to help in the raising of the funds.

Politically the League will continue its work with the coalition of groups working on the Indochina question, and will continue–and deepen–its involvement with the prison issue. Other issues taken up included support for the UN resolution on self-determination for Puerto Rico, continued support for CONAME (Committee for New Alternatives in the Middle East), an offer to War Tax Resistance to absorb WTR into WRL program if necessary to keep it going (WTR was originally set up as a WRL project and later became independent).

One of the main thrusts of the conference was the shift of emphasis toward renewing WRL's concern with militarism and disarmament. This is not, of course, a new concern, but it does mean the League will give much sharper stress to this issue in the year ahead. (The task force committee consists of: Ed Hedemann –convener, David McReynolds, Beverly Woodward, Neil Haworth, Brad Lyttle, Angie Calvert, Prafulla Mukerji). The other main thrust was the task force on social justice set up to explore with SCLC and other groups representing the non-white and poor in American society ways to build joint programs of action. Norma Becker is acting as convenor with William Douthard, David McReynolds, Lynne Shatzkin Coffin on the committee. Both task force groups have already held initial meetings.

There was discussion, without any decision, on ways for radical pacifist groups to cooperate more closely. Staff was assigned the job of convening a meeting of pacifist groups to explore closer cooperation. Betty Brantner of Seattle will put together a "pacifist yellow pages" of American pacifist groups, and Maris Cakars and Jim Forest discussed the possibility of a single joint issue of *WIN* and *Fellowship* (*Winship*?).

Nominations for National Officers were made and the balloting of the National Committee to select those officers is under way. On the international scene, it was voted to send Ed Hedemann to Brussels in October for the Anti-Militarism Conference. And Beverly Woodward was elected to replace Margie Rece as WRL section representative on the War Resisters International Council.

The National Committee discussed the fact that two decisions of last year's NC regarding the location and length of the National Conference and National Committee meeting had not been carried out. The Executive Committee was instructed to allow two full days for the NC meeting in 1975. Steve Ladd of WRL West suggested possible regional conferences next year before the National Conference.

The National Committee came to a halt in mid-afternoon, September 3, having wrestled hard to give shape to WRL program and leaving to the Executive Committee and local WRL chapters the job of giving flesh to the hopes and dreams of the Conference.

Photo by Bill Newsom

This is a family of COs: Julius Eichel was jailed in both world wars. His son, Seymour, was jailed in 1956 for draft refusal. His wife, Esther, during World War II, coordinated the Families & Friends of Imprisoned COs.

MEMORIAL FOR 7 WHO DIED

A memorial for six outstanding, lifelong pacifists in their 80s or 90s and for one young war resister–all of whom died over the past 15 months, was held at the opening session of the conference.

Jim Peck reminisced about Richard Gregg, Ned Richards, Evan Thomas and Gary Raeder, recalling that both Ned and Evan had attended the 50th anniversary conference last summer in California–that they both were COs in World War I and II. (The only World War I COs at this conference were David Berkingoff and Julius Eichel).

Then Ann Davidon talked about Tracy Mygatt, Jeannette Rankin and Frances Witherspoon, emphasizing how their decades of work for peace constituted the real fulfilment of their lives, as women.

LOCAL ORGANIZERS

CAUCUS ON COOPERATION AMONG RADICAL PACIFISTS

From Albuquerque To Brussells

by Craig Simpson

Its hard to believe that I am writing from a side street a mile from downtown Brussels, the new headquarters for War Resisters International on Van Elewyckstraat. The past few years I had been coordinating WRL Southwest in Albuquerque. A month ago I was paying off a college loan by working as an orderly in a children's hospital in Denver, doing some part time peace work with some hard working good people on the AFSC staff and living at the Institute/Mountain West. Ed Hedemann called to tell me of my acceptance as the WRL intern for WRI and a week later I was reluctantly stepping off a plane at Brussels International Airport at 12:30 at night.

Its difficult getting used to the weather here (cold and rainy) and the language (French and Flemish) but otherwise I have been integrated already into staff work and the Belgian environment. The first week, I spent in the office meeting people, learning the basic chores, discovering key words like W.C., merci and bonjour and just getting generally settled. There were 5 staffers when I arrived and with Ullie, a German CO, and myself the staff is completed: 3 Americans, 2 Germans, 1 Swiss Finn, and 1 Belgian.

My second week we all attended the annual WRI Council meeting in Turin, Italy. (actually in Rivoli on the mountains' edge close by) We stayed a week, July 20 to 26, in a used seminary (once used by the Italian Fascists) with 40 council members, observers, interpreters, kids, and friends. Council meetings are important for the forming of the analysis, direction, program and action of the International and for our direction as a staff collective. It was a long, difficult week for all of us. There are the traditional clashes with the people from the German sections of DFG/IDK and the revolutionary nonviolent activists, the mistaken translations, the hashing out of program and needs of the sections. There were the long, boring speeches by the seemingly seasoned and articulate council people and the secret meetings in the quiet cafes of Rivoli. Reports are available on the details of these meetings from us or from the WRI Council members in the U.S. (Ann Davidon, Randy Kehler, David McReynolds and George Lakey or Beverly Woodward, who couldn't attend.)

WRI actually has many tasks which I hope the collective can write up soon in more detail in a series of articles for *WRL NEWS* or the *Organizers Bulletin*. I primarily have been assigned to the fulltime function of editing the *WRI NEWSLETTER* and to the Indochina program, I also will handle correspondance with national, regional and local sections in the U.S. and the development of a Latin American program. On August 9, I left for the WRI workcamp in Larzac, France, where farmers are nonviolently opposing the expansion of an air base. I then took a few days in Paris to meet with various Vietnamese and Cambodian delegations about the WEEK OF CONCERN which we are trying to promote among WRI sections throughout the world.

I would like to hear from WRL charter members either by personal letters or articles for the newsletter on how the International can help in local work. Also I have a special request that you seriously consider coming to Belgium for the Triennial Conference planned in July 1975. Triennial conferences are good occasions to meet with pacifists and nonviolent activists from throughout the world to discuss and plan strategy for nonviolent revolution and transnational organizing. You might meet a German CO or a Gandhian Gramdan activist or a British anarchist or an Italian nonviolent trade unionist. Its a good time to share perspectives and collective experiences and develop a truly internationalist, nonviolent perspective.

NIXON'S PARDON

A P.S. to David McReynolds article.

Less than 24 hours before this copy went to press, Ford announced a full and unconditional pardon for Nixon. We should be grateful to Ford for helping the public see the political reality of his Administration more clearly and for bringing to so abrupt an end the "honeymoon". The following points quickly: (1) No single act by Ford could have made clearer that the law is not impartial, but a weapon in the hands of the powerful to be used against the weak. Radicals have long known there is no "equal justice under law"—Ford has confirmed that reality for all to see. While Martha Tranquilli sits in jail for refusing to finance a criminal war, Nixon sits in San Clemente and plays golf in Palm Springs while drawing down $60,000 a year plus close to $100,000 in office expenses. (2) Nixon appointed Ford. Ford has pardoned Nixon. Isn't it time to demand a new election? If the people want to place the office of President above the law, let them so vote—but for a man appointed President by a criminal to pardon that criminal is too raw to swallow.

MARTHA TRANQUILLI DOING NINE MONTHS ON TAXES

by Steve Ladd

Martha Tranquilli, 63-year old war tax resister, turned herself in to federal marshals at 9 a.m., July 19 at the Federal Building in Sacramento to begin serving her nine-month jail term at Terminal Island Prison in San Pedro, California.

A surprisingly large crowd of about 100 supporters turned out at 7:30 a.m. to be with Martha when she surrendered. The group took part in a Unitarian service for Martha, a short rally where she spoke. There was some singing and hand-clapping.

Press coverage was good. All major TV networks and local stations, as well as many other sources, covered the event. Martha had gotten much advance publicity in Northern California press in anticipation of her starting her sentence. Apparently her being a "63-year old woman nurse" whom the government had sentenced to 9 months in jail appealed to them, as did her "unusual" form of war protest.

She was typically soft-spoken, beautiful, and calm during the whole affair. Those who went up to give her a hug of support noticed that she was visibly beaming and elated by all the support.

Martha refused to pay 61% of her 1970 and 1971 income taxes as a protest against the Vietnam War. She did so while she was working as a supervising nurse at Mount Bayou Community Hospital, Mount Bayou, Mississippi. She claimed six peace organizations (Including WRL) as dependents, which enabled her to withhold a total of $1100 from the IRS and resulted in her being tried and convicted of tax fraud charges by Judge William Keady of Clarksdale, Mississippi. He later sentenced her to nine months in prison and two years probation.

Martha had this to say about going to prison:

"I was very much afraid of going to prison, but I think I have overcome that fear. I plan to read, write letters and meditate as much as possible. I'm going to try my best to make an adventure out of this thing."

There's no limit to the number of persons who can write to Martha at Terminal Island. She welcomes your letters. On August 1 she wrote: "There are many letters coming to me from all over the U.S. One addressed to Martha Tranquilli, Federal Prison, Somewhere in California, reached me here."

On August 10 a demo in support of Martha was held outside the prison. It included local members of WILPF, FOR, the South Bay chapter of Peoples Action Union and the Fellowship of Social Justice of the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles.

AFTER THE FALL

by David McReynolds

Nixon is gone, less than two years after his unprecedented electoral triumph. Should we celebrate a victory? The political commentators have laid great stress on how well the system worked, how easily we went through the transition from Nixon to Ford, how effective Congress and the Courts proved when confronted with this grave constitutional crisis.

The commentators are wrong. The system worked poorly, stumbled constantly, and in the end only followed the path set by opinion polls. We owe far more to a night watchman, a maverick judge, two young reporters, and an aging Southern Senator than we do to the "system". Yes, there are heroes, but the system is not one of them. What are we to think when Congress carefully avoided making the Cambodian bombing one of the articles of impeachment? Yet what could Congress have done in view of its own deep complicity. The "secret bombing" of Cambodia was hardly a secret to the Cambodians, the Vietnamese, the Chinese, or the Russians. Wouldn't Congress have looked silly to be forced into an admission–inevitable during any impeachment trial–that our enemies knew more about U.S. actions in Indochina than the Congress which was funding those actions!

Completely overlooked in the commentary on Nixon's resignation was the role of *the people*. Commentators have forgotten the mobilization of the AFL-CIO membership, the hard work of the ACLU in organizing its supporters in every Congressional District, the work of groups like WRL which collected tens of thousands of names on impeachment petitions, the impact of literally hundreds of local "citizens' committees" for impeachment. Even the decision by the Congress to set up an inquiry on impeachment came *after* the public "fire storm" following the firing of Cox and Richardson.

Nixon's resignation–like Johnson's withdrawal from the 1968 campaign–was a victory for the American people; a clear, powerful demonstration of what they could achieve despite a supine, flaccid Congress. But nothing so terrifies those who run this nation as any awareness by the people of their own power. It is very important to persuade us that it was not us that drove Nixon into exile, but "the system". The American people compelled an end to direct U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The American people compelled Nixon's resignation. Let no one deny us this victory, or seek to render it meaningless with a "radical analysis" so pessimistic that it leaves us demoralized and helpless.

But let us keep this victory in perspective. Nixon was removed from office for the same reason our troops were removed from Vietnam–the public outcry threatened to spill over and touch the Establishment itself. (This was a point Senator Buckley understood perfectly when, some months ago, he called for Nixon's resignation in order to preserve what he termed "the regime"). At precisely the point where a badly disillusioned public was beginning to ask basic questions, cosmetics were applied.

We were given Jerry Ford. And Jerry Ford is giving us Nelson Rockefeller–a man whose hands are stained with blood from Attica, and whose personal fortune is greater than the gross national product of perhaps a majority of the nations on the planet. (The joke in Washington is that Rocky will have to put Venezuela in trust while he is in office). We are going to have a President and Vice President elected by no one–the ones we elected having resigned office for criminal conduct.

From all the evidence Jerry Ford is as different from Nixon as day from night: open, honest, modest. It is easy to think a "nice man" can solve our problems–just as easy as to think a "not-nice man" caused them. Nixon, for all his faults, did not create our problems and Jerry Ford cannot solve them. Both men reflect vast concentrations of economic and military power and until those concentrations of power are broken up and changed in fundamental ways it will not matter particularly which men (or women) preside over the structure of power. If they do not serve the interests of that structure–as Johnson and Nixon did not–they shall be removed. In many ways Ford will serve far better than Nixon–he is a nice man, and evil systems need nice men in charge.

U.S. funds pay for bombing civilians in South Vietnam, shooting them in Chile, torturing them in Brazil, jailing them in South Korea–and this will not change simply because Nixon is now in San Clemente and Ford is in the White House. Look at the record–the interlocking system of power: Melvin Laird, former Defense Secretary, is credited with having persuaded Nixon to choose Ford as Vice President and now with having gotten Ford to choose Rockefeller. Ford's–and Rockefeller's–own records prove them faithful supporters of the military. The N.Y. Times reported that, weeks before Ford took over, an informal group of his friends had already planned his first steps in the transition of power–the steps that would give the impression of a "new climate" in the capital. Part of that prepared script even included Ford's plea for partial "amnesty". Thus, Nixon falls from power, but the system survives.

Join me in looking with special care at General Alexander Haig. When Nixon fired Haldeman and Erlichman, the Pentagon sent Haig in and, it is now generally admitted, he has been running the government for much of the past six months. More ominous, Haig has been credited with helping "save" our democracy for us by plotting, along with Kissinger, Nixon's removal from power. It is also being admitted now that the defense chiefs worried in the last days of Nixon's rule that he might press the button or try to call out the military to disband Congress. Isn't there something horribly wrong when a four star general saves us from an elected official?

Yes, we wanted Nixon out. He would have been removed by impeachment. But that was too slow and a debate over Nixon's actions might reveal too much. So, for the first time in our history, the military played a key role in the resignation of a President. Must it be spelled out in block letters for us to see that if a general can play so crucial a role in evicting an elected civilian, it is only a small step to the point where another general could just as easily prevent an elected official from assuming office?

It is an excellent thing to have Nixon out of office. The military is hoping we will quit there. But we want Haig out. We want the military out. It is the system, not individuals, that need to be impeached. Our target was never an individual–Nixon or anyone else. It was and is the system we want to change.

Finally, I leave to others the question of whether Nixon should face trial. I do find it remarkable that a man who would have been impeached if he had remained in office will now draw $60,000 a year for life. This is certainly an unusual approach to the crime problem. But the one thing we should be clear on is that Nixon, the law-evader and law-breaker, is not in the same category as those men who, by their courage, upheld the law, the constitution, and the conscience of a nation by refusing service in the Vietnam War.

MY SECOND GO-ROUND ON AMNESTY

by Jim Peck

A few months ago, upon seeing newspaper photos of our post-World War II amnesty demos, in which we were costumed in old-style striped prison suits, Brad Lyttle shook his head and remarked: "But how could you rent *1,000* or more prison costumes which would be required this time, once we get to the demonstration stage of the campaign?"

I replied: "Of course, you couldn't, but it would be necessary to rent only a dozen or so—enough for the leading contingent."

Brad appeared satisfied with this answer and approved the idea. In fact, everyone to whom I have shown the now-yellowed newspaper clippings agree that prison-costume picketing is imaginative and effective. It proved itself by the extensive newspaper publicity it drew. We did try other variations, but with less success. Since amnesty is associated with Christmas, one Christmas season, we rented Santa Claus costumes in which to picket the White House. On another occasion, we rented funeral attire and carried a mock-coffin labeled "Justice".

Perhaps the most unusual of our amnesty demos took place at Danbury on Lincoln's Birthday, 1946, when the prison was picketed outside and inside the yard at the same time. While some 40 of us walked back and forth with amnesty placards at the prison gate, prisoners circled the yard with improvised placards. The inside demo was augmented as a result of the prisoners' indignation over being forced to work on the holiday and over increasingly poor food. I had gotten out of Danbury only 9 months previous, so being outside, picketing, after being locked up there for 3 years, seemed like some characteristically, out-of-context dream. But it was for real.

All-in-all, our World War II amnesty campaign, small as it had to be in contrast to today's, made an impact on the media. When, two years ago, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* did a feature story on amnesty, the selected photo was of our very first amnesty picket line at the White House on October 17, 1945 (showed 6 pickets, including myself—and without costume on that occasion).

I probably am the only individual for whom the present amnesty campaign is a second go-round. In the World War II campaign, I was one of the Amnesty Committee's 3-person staff—the others were Albon Man and Vivien Lang. This time, though again I hold no official title, I have been working on the issue out of the WRL office, even before the formation of the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty, whose coordinator is the League's chairwoman, Irma Zigas. The fact that NCUUA has set up its national office in the same building facilitates my working closely with it. On Armed Forces Day, I participated in an amnesty demo at West Point. On July 4 I joined the demo in Washington. On Sept. 18, I picketed Ford at the United Nations.

So, being on my second go-round, I'm in a position to contrast today's amnesty campaign with that of World War II. The outstanding difference was pinpointed, inadvertantly, by Brad when he asked: "But how could you rent *1,000* or more prison costumes?" The World War II campaign was, necessarily, small. World War II was considered, generally, a just war and its CO's were limited to pacifists who oppose ALL war plus Jehovah's Witnesses. There were virtually no "deserters" and very few "draft dodgers". The number of imprisoned draft objectors totaled no more than 15,000 of which 10% were pardoned by President Truman as a consequence of our amnesty campaign. (Selection of whom to pardon was made by a 3-man review board headed by Supreme Court Justice Roberts.) I say "as a consequence of our amnesty campaign" advisedly, for I feel that had it not been for our protest actions, even that limited number of pardons would not have been granted. Amnesty was not even close to becoming a national issue, as it is today. Most people were neither pro nor con, in fact many found it a completely strange word.

Our campaign never could reach out widely, even though we secured letterhead sponsors including leading intellectuals, writers, professors, clerics, etc. and got amnesty resolutions adopted by some outstanding religious and secular organizations.

In contrast to our World War II campaign, today's campaign can be as big as we have the capacity to make it. The Vietnam war was considered, generally, an unjust war and its CO's included countless thousands—not just the traditional kind who oppose ALL war, but men who are not against war as such but who refused to fight in Vietnam. Some chose jail: others emigrated to Canada and other countries, some took their anti-war position before being drafted: others went AWOL. On this second go-round of mine, we stand a much better chance of winning amnesty than after World War II—provided we succeed in mounting an impressive campaign. The potential of such a campaign is unlimited if, as indicated by a recent poll, 34% already favor unconditional amnesty.

ORGANIZING NOTES

by Ed Hedemann

Despite the traditional inactivity of summer months, WRL local groups in Albuquerque, Morgantown, Kansas City, Atlanta, Austin, Honolulu, San Francisco, and Seattle demonstrated, vigiled, picketed, and rallied on August 6 and 9 commemorating the 29th anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki nuclear bombs. With less than a week's publicity, WRL/West (in conjunction with WILPF, Women for Peace, ARSC, et al.) drew a surprisingly large noon hour crowd of 100 in San Francisco's Union Square on August 6. They picketed, leafleted, chanted, and passed out hundreds of paper cranes (the symbol of survival in Hiroshima) to passers-by for more than an hour. The theme was "No More Hiroshimas, No More Vietnams". Media coverage excellent.

Some large weather balloons (intended to look like mushroom clouds) with slogans on them, blew up ("symbollically" as the S.F. Examiner noted) as they were being filled.

During the third week in July, WRLers in Honolulu, San Francisco, and New York City organized protest demonstrations around the repression in South Korea.

On July 22, 9 people were arrested (including 5 from Catholic Action/Hawaii WRL) for trespassing in the South Korean Consulate in Honolulu. The arrests followed a demonstration protesting the recent trials and sentences pursued by the Park regime. The nine tried to deliver a message personally to the Consul General, and refused to leave when they were denied access to him.

The WRL National Conference in New Hampshire proved to be an excellent opportunity for local organizers to get togeather. About 30 representatives from 14 WRL local groups participated in caucuses on organizing and cooperation with other radical pacifist groups.

The July Executive Committee meeting approved three new WRL local groups:

Morgantown WRL
345 Prospect St., rm 607
Morgantown, West Virginia 26505

Islandia, Inc.
1636 Lompico Road
Felton, California 95018

Tri-state WRL/FOR
Box 57
Dickeyville, Wisconsin 53808

Efforts to organize WRL groups are being made in New Bedford, Mass.; Chapel Hill, N. Carolina; Columbia, Missouri; Muncie, Indiana.